1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

585 Kota musicians, and bring therefrom water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. The bride then salutes all her new relations, and they in turn give her their blessing. The ceremonial concludes with a feast, at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah (pial), and receive presents.

181 "Though," a correspondent writes, "the Badaga is simple, and his wants are few, he cannot resist the temptation of wine and women. The Badaga woman 586 can change husbands as often as she pleases by a simple 587 system of divorce, and can also carry on with impunity (837) intimacy within the pale of her own community. It is not uncommon to find Badaga women changing husbands, so long as youth and vigour tempt them to do so, and confining themselves eventually to the last individual, after age and infirmity have made their mark, and render such frolics inexpedient." A former Magistrate of the 578 Nilgiris informs me that he tried more than one case, in 691 which a married man filed a complaint against another man for kidnapping or enticing away his wife for immoral purposes. The father of the woman was always charged as an abetter, and pleaded that, as no pariyam (bride price) had been paid by the husband, though he and the woman lived together as man and wife, no criminal offence could be proved against either the • 595 father or the abductor. Polygamy is permitted, and the plurality of wives is a gain to the husband, as each wife becomes a bread-winner, and supports her children, and the man makes each wife superintend one department of the day's work. 587 Remarriage of widows is very common, and a widow may marry the brother of her 837 deceased husband. It is said to be etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

KOṄGARU

614 [552] Although this name is applied to many Wodeas and is also an epithet for a stupid fellow, *Koṅgaru* literally means 'people from the plains', i.e., from the medieval kingdom of Koṅgu.

There are several villages of Badagas called Koṅgaru; for this is also the name of a high-ranking clan, aside from other usages of the word. Reputedly the Koṅgaru of Ha:llaṭṭi were descended from concubines in the service of the chieftain of Male Ko:ṭe. Other Koṅgaru were Lingayats who, like the Adikiris, came from Saragu:r in southern Mysore. Their traditional occupation, up to 1900, was said to have been temple custodians and priests (Rhiem, 1900, 499–500). They are usually considered descendants of a Wodea man and a Gauda woman. Again we encounter the tale of some Koṅgaru having fallen away from their principles and been denied *liṅgas* because one of their youths ate meat to please a low-caste girl whom he loved (Metz, 1864, 49–50; Grigg, 1880, 221; Tignous, 1911, 117).

HA:RUVAS

This clan's name is the Kannada word for Brahmin (Kittel, 1894, 1650; Burrow and Emeneau, 1961, 273). Thurston's (1909, vol. I, 73) alternative suggestion that it means 'jumper' and refers to their method of fire-walking is unconvincing. Most phratries walk ceremonially on fire. Now a distinct clan, Ha:ruvas press the claim to Brahmin origin although local legend does not entirely support this. Instead it is generally believed that Ha:ruvas were a group of priests (of a sept called Brahma) who accompanied some Gaudas, though not the earliest group, when they entered the hills.[16] They came from Ho:sahaḷḷi-Girubeṭṭa (or perhaps Haććini Na:gapaṭṭana), and as they brought no women with them were unable to maintain the endogamy that is so typical of Brahmins.[17] At first they intermarried with the Gaudas of Kasturi clan—itself believed descended from fallen-away Brahmins—and in later years Ha:ruvas also married Koṅgaru, Adikiris and Kanakkas. Up till the eighteenth century the shortage of marriageable women, which had prompted fraternal polyandry, was somewhat aggravated by the practice of *sati* among Ha:ruva, Gauda and perhaps Torea widows. This custom came to an end, probably under Moslem

● [595]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

614
●[595] influence, before the British reached the hills, and Badaga widows have remarried freely ever since, while polyandry has disappeared.[18]

Although Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas there is a legend that the two groups were originally 'brothers' and thus agnates. When these people first came to the hills, the tale goes, they were wandering through a forest in search of food. At last they found some flesh and many ate it; those abstaining became Ha:ruvas, priests to the rest (Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 45; Benbow, 1930, 9, 11). Another legend on the same theme relates that the founders of Me:lu:ru Hosa:ṭṭi, the first Ha:ruva village, were two brothers named Uliajjan and Guruajjan. The elder of the pair chose at one time to eat flesh, and when Guruajjan discovered this he went away to found the villages of Taṅga:ḍu and Ha:lakore. Uliajjan became an outcast whose descendants have been absorbed into various Gauda villages (Jogi Gowder, no date, 1–2). The sequence in which the Ha:ruva villages were founded is shown in Diagram 1.

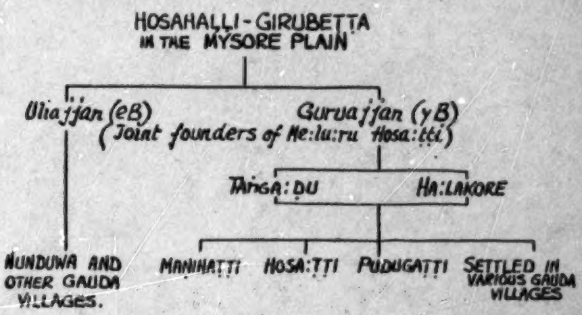

Diagram 1. The descent of the Ha:ruvas.

ADIKIRIS

This clan recall that their Virashaiva ancestors came in a large group from Mallikaḷḷi via Saragu:r (southern Mysore) and settled at Nellitore, a place sacred to them on the plains directly below

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come: see above, Diagram 6.

16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *paloł*.

17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *paloł's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkanc:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *paaya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

[p. 134 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

666 French-supported film factory and a protein products factory, supposedly to improve farm productivity and employ the pool of Badaga graduates.

MODERN LAWS

671 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the modernization of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we need review only briefly.

(587) The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on Badagas since there was never any interdict against (562) remarriage of their widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property (428) Act, 1937, has always been ignored by Badagas, and the women have never challenged their traditional treatment: the property is only inherited by males. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, (595) receive due recognition from Badagas: marriages are still not (582) always monogamous and are sometimes contracted with grooms below eighteen or brides below fifteen. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples and are normally served with separate 'untouchable' glasses when they (178) drink at a village teashop. People in Nilgiri villages may not be ignorant of such legislation, but there certainly remains some resistance to the idea of integrating the official system of law and 000 administration into Badaga culture. Even more resistance can be found among the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas.

NOTES

631 1. Meaning, respectively, Toda division, Western division, Europeans' division (from *ferangi*, 'Franks') and peak division (from Tamil *kuṉṟu*, 'mount'). Why one division should have been named after Europeans is not clear, unless it be a reference to seventeenth-century Jesuits who may have entered this area from Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Me:ḻupa:ḷaya, where they were then active; Société des Missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. xii, 234-235. The name is certainly ancient. Grigg, 1880, 13, n. 1, and Macleane, 1893, 678, derive this name however from Tamil *periya Raṅga*, 'great god Raṅga,' who is worshipped in this area; see above, p. 127. Throughout the nineteenth century these territorial divisions were adopted by British administrators, but in 1882 they were superceded by the three *taluks* (Gudalur, Ootacamund, Coonoor) that are still recognized today.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

615 groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Wodeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Chris-
[197] tian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of
615 these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous,
614 and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

582 Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between
[614] members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife.
595 A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five
586 simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite accept-
587 able in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid
583 by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

582 Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should, if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current
[595] husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

619 An important feature of this community, from the point of view

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

In a similar arrangement an old man's younger brother slept with the new wife and begot children who were treated as her husband's. Such practices now seem to have stopped. "Children for an older man are a weight on his shoulder," says the proverb.

3.16. In keeping with the idea that intercourse should satisfy a couple, Badagas are familiar with a variety of coital approaches—although nothing like that described in the *Kama Sutra*. The psychological benefits of making love are acknowledged in a proverb: "[If husband and wife are] not on good terms before midnight, they will play after midnight."

Badagas customarily take a bath before having sexual relations, and under normal conditions are both nude when making love. Older couples are generally naked in bed, but nowadays the younger people wear pyjamas or underwear. Young men, particularly if educated in a city, know how to use foreplay to get a woman excited. Until European films were seen in the Nilgiris, however, mouth-kissing was not indulged in, although men did kiss and bite the neck, cheeks and breasts of their women. Inside the house the normal position for intercourse is lying on a bed, but if they have to hurry the couple will use a standing position or stoop over something, with the man entering from behind, as indeed they do when in the forest. Parents may have relations in the same bed their children are sleeping in, in which case they will lie on their sides during intercourse. Curiously, a couple can do this with their baby lying beside them, and it will not be affected by the "bad wind" of coitus; whereas if they do it in another room they must not come near their baby until they have cleaned themselves and put on fresh clothes, for fear that the baby will be affected. Furthermore, if they also have some older children they may take them into the same bed with the baby before having intercourse in that very bed; the belief here being that even though the other children are weaned they too could be affected by this very dangerous "wind" if they were sleeping in another room. Young couples with no children generally sleep in a small room by themselves, on the end of the veranda. If their ageing parents live with them, the couple may leave the inner room to them and sleep under the wide shelf in the outer room. Otherwise a couple will occupy the inner room at night. If a man has two wives he usually has relations with one in the presence of the other, all three sharing the same bed.

Although a young bride should be the first to get up in the morn-

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Fertility and Infertility

3.17. A basic problem of public health administration—to control the abundant fertility of Indian and other Asian populations—has never been taken for a problem by the Badaga community. Even though their population has increased from 2,207 in 1812 to 104,392 in 1971 their village leaders are only now beginning to perceive that such a staggering increase (4,730 per cent in 160 years) has to be curtailed. Sons were of course valued in a farming community in a frontier-like situation, and long after swidden agriculture had ceased and the amount of farmland stabilized people still thought in terms of having a number of sons for security. This entailed on the average having the same number of daughters. ("Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is only delivering girls," a proverb bemoans.) And as standards of public hygiene slowly increased so too did the excess of births over deaths. In various prayers Badagas still ask: "May the house be filled with children!" In contrast, however, one proverb acknowledges that, "The mother who has given birth to ten children [is almost like someone] dead from having fallen in the lake." Another traditional proverb counsels: "Rather than deliver ten pigs [i.e., unscrupulous children], deliver one [good child] Nandi." In the 600 households of my sample the average nuclear family had 3.7 children.

For Badagas then, the more important problem is infertility. Several lady therapists have built their reputations on their abilities to cure or at least to predict a woman's barrenness. In some marriages, as we have seen, the apparent infertility is an effect, in the Badaga's view, of the couple thinking about divorce and hence not satisfying each other through intercourse. "Treatment" for infertility will be discussed in more detail below (6.62).

The commonest solution for an infertile marriage is for the woman to bring her younger sister into the home as a second wife. Should the latter prove infertile too their natal family is considered accursed: the thought that the problem might lie with the husband does not arise. If the barren wife does not supply a substitute she is usually sent home to her parents. Her fate then, if she is lucky, will be to marry a widower who needs a woman's labour in the house but who already has his children (Jagor 1876: 200). Nowadays childless couples tend to follow the South Indian practice of visiting distant temples on pilgrimage, and promising to give the gods something when they have been blessed with a son.

generations, although the Toreyas themselves are hazy about its causes. Provided the two sibs really are exogamous and each only marries with the other, their numbers should become roughly equal by the end of this century. Apparently one of the frequent epidemics which plague this area ravaged one of the sibs early in the present century while leaving the hamlets of the other relatively unscathed. The latter sib now includes large numbers of unmarried men and women.

How are the Toreyas handling this challenge? Strangely enough, in view of the well-known precedents set them by other Badaga phratries, the Toreyas have not resorted to the expedient of marrying outside their phratry, either to other Badagas or to Kanarese peasants. The only explanation for this behavior seems to be that they are poorer and less well educated than any other Badaga phratry, and they feel that marriage beyond the bounds of their own phratry would -- far from relieving their tensions -- threaten their very identity as a group.

The main solution they have attempted, and with considerable success, is polygyny. This is a permissible form of marriage among all Badagas, although it is rarely practiced today. Those Toreya men of the smaller sib who can afford it nevertheless quite often take a second wife. Polyandry, on the other hand, is no longer a permissible form of Badaga marriage; although it was apparently common until the end of the last century (Natesa Sastri 1892: 754). Even so, I believe that cases of de facto fraternal polyandry occur among men of the larger Toreya sib and contribute to a solution of the present problem. It can also be assumed that many of the unmarried women of the larger sib still succeed in becoming mothers. A Toreya girl is quite commonly the object of a Gauda boy's attentions; but although children may result from such a casual union, marriage never does.

Toreyas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all other phratries

565 that it has a high status by all of the accepted criteria -- priority of settlement, wisdom, wealth, piety, and absolute size. The distinction between gentry and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all Badaga families can be allotted to the one category or the other by everyone who knows them. I estimate that during the present century roughly five percent of the community is considered as gentry. The great bulk of the community is non-gentry because its ancestors were not known to be the first settlers in any particular hamlet, or because they were only younger sons in the gentry families.

Until the middle of the 19th Century, the most prestigious gentry family 565 was the largest family possible. To achieve this ideal men would often have poly- 565 gynous marriages: in one case (probably a record number for all Badagas) a man had (175) five wives simultaneously, during the early years of this century. In such families it is -- or was -- common for some of the wives to be several decades younger than the husband, in which case they might present him with sons of which he was (178) probably aware that he was not the biological father. Today polygyny is no longer common; nevertheless I know of a gentry family where the husband is now 86 years old, and the youngest of his three wives is 19.

There was, during the latter part of the last century, a transitional phase 178 in the condition of the gentry, when neither the size of the family nor its wealth was 565 the important determinant of its status; its influence derived primarily from its "strength of character", I was told. This change seems to mark the beginning of a break-away from traditional values which, as we shall see, gained pace in the 565 years following 1913. In the present century all Badaga families, whether consi- 556 dered gentry or not, gain a prestige commensurate with their wealth. If a family is unusually wealthy it now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry

578 691 place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

177 615 582 The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

184 582 615 During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

[595]

178 583 If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
[622] insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
[623] man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to *his* son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
[428] sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
[837] in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
597 property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives
[425] accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
[136] brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
[425] their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council
[623] would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF

0: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

people that Ego cannot marry because of agnatic relationship to a member of Ego's own lineage, she is a permissible marriage partner, although considered "M". S82

Diagram 10

In Diagram 11 we find that while Ego's son 'P' can marry the ZD of Ego, his other son 'Q' by Ego's "ZD" cannot marry Ego's actual ZD, as this would be considered tantamount to mother/son incest.

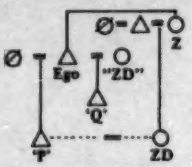

Diagram 11

What is called "uncle/niece" marriage is possible, but only under certain special circumstances. In Diagram 12, Ego cannot marry his actual ZD because he is always a *guru* to her, and has to perform certain ceremonies for her which preclude his being her husband too. He can however marry his sister's step-daughter, a classificatory "ZD", since she will have someone other than Ego to act as her *guru*; this would be permissible provided the second wife of the ZH had been taken from a lineage other than Ego's. (604)

Diagram 12

Diagram 13 simply illustrates the fact that a male Ego may marry women of different generation levels all at once or one after another. Badagas generally do not marry women older than themselves, so it is assumed that all of these women are of a younger age than Ego. As relationship is only counted on the paternal side, any or all of these marriages would be permissible, simultaneously or sequentially. If 'Q' has a son 'Y' by Ego, while 'R' has a son 'X' by some other man, 'X' will call 'Y' "father." If Ego subsequently marries 'R', 'X' will then start to call 'Y' "brother." S82 S95

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

582
[595]

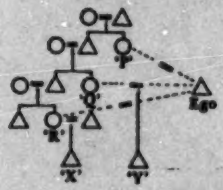

Diagram 13

Even though 'Q' (who is married to 'R') is, in Diagram 14, in a classificatory "mother" relationship to 'R', Ego can still marry 'X'. The FM of 'X' is not of Ego's lineage. Assuming that the FFZSW is no longer of Ego's lineage and is not related through any members of Ego's lineage in such a way as to preclude the marriage, then this union is permissible. It should be pointed out that there is more than one way to "skin a cat" and in any of these marriages the relationship between the two potential spouses can be figured in such a way as to allow the marriage. If in fact Ego *were* related to 'X' so as to prohibit the marriage with her, but if this relationship were distant enough, it might simply be overlooked provided no one protested.

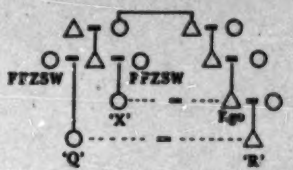

Diagram 14

9. The Family: Some Conclusions

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In the larger phratries the Badagas have a generalized system of marital exchange, a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Such a system allows some of the clans to differ in status from others. In the smaller phratries consisting of no more than two clans, however, restricted exchange occurs, still with the bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

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Because of their theory of patriliny, namely that every infant is formed solely from the semen of its father, the two prime cross-cousins who constitute potential spouses are in an equivalent relationship for Ego. From a Badaga male's point of view, these possibilities are MBD and FZHD—in other words, the daughter of a bride-taker (or bride-giver) who belongs to another

As in any society, the family among the Badagas does not show one kind of structure only. A sample of 420 Badagas of both sexes, in 1963, revealed the range of households indicated in Table 5. I equate "family" with "household" here because among Badagas the residential unit is equally a commensal unit of a kind that is always recognized to be a family. What this table emphasizes is that only about 15% of Badaga households are joint families, and only about 3% are polygynous, even though both of these types are acceptable, and indeed the former is considered the ideal. It is an ideal which cannot however be realised continuously over a long period of time. There is a natural cycle of growth, florescence, and decline in the Badaga family, a cycle whose stages are approximately the same as the sequence of the first eight household types listed in Table 5. Once a household contains several brothers with their wives and children, it usually becomes necessary for them to split up into a number of nuclear families occupying different homes because there is no longer enough physical space and cooking facilities for all of them in what is typically a three-roomed house. It is noteworthy that in 1963 only 4.3% of the respondents belonged to a full joint family in which both of the grandparents were still living. This fact should be viewed against the backdrop of Table 1, which indicates that 19% of the male sample had more than one owned house available to them. Where alternative housing is available within the family the joint residential unit, no longer a necessity, may cease to seem so virtuous or practicable to its members either.

592 (596) (595) (183)

TABLE 5

Badaga Household Structure

	Respondents' households
Nuclear family:	
Living alone, or with spouse	45.2%
Couple with children	19.8%
Mother with unmarried children	0.7%
Father with unmarried children	13.3%
Sub-Total:	79.0%
Joint family:	
Parents, sons, their wives and children	4.3%
Mother, sons, their wives and children	5.5%
Father, sons, their wives and children	3.6%
Several siblings with spouses and their children	2.1%
Sub-Total:	15.5%
Polygynous family:	2.9%
Other, supplemented nuclear or joint families:	2.6%
	(*N*=420)

(594) (596) (595)

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

to their own country they preferred to settle down as the cultivators of the Tôḍa-lands, acknowledging the Tôḍas as their landlords, and themselves taking up the humble position of farmers under them; and the lazy Tôḍa who was extremely glad to get people to cultivate his lands was thoroughly satisfied with this arrangement. Even to this day the Baḍagas, in acknowledgment of their subordination to the Tôḍas, pay their *Gûḍu*—their tenants' fee—to these landlords of the Nîlagiris.

Another fact that seems to indicate that the Baḍagas are immigrants is that a crude kind of polyandry exists among them. Baḍaga society allows this practice, and it is not uncommon when a man has five sons for only one of them to be married, though Baḍagas when questioned about it stoutly deny the existence of this custom. If the marriage tie is in this respect somewhat lax, the Baḍaga rules in other ways are very strict, and a woman would be at once out-casted who went astray with a person of a different caste. The existence of this custom among the Baḍagas is, as has been said, probably to be explained by the fact that they are immigrants. Naturally most of those who came up from Maisûr would be men, and the hardships consequent upon the great change of climate and habits of life would tell more severely upon the women than upon the hardier male sex. The practice of polyandry having thus been allowed to grow up obtained the sanction of custom, and still prevails as a caste-rule to which little or no objection is made.

This custom, the existence of all crafts and arts among themselves, and the payments of *Gûḍu* in recognition of the Tôḍas as their landlords, are three very strong proofs of the contention that the Baḍagas are only colonists on these hills, and are not the original inhabitants.

There are several sects among the Baḍagas. Mr. Grigg enumerates eighteen—seven major and eleven minor. From the results of my researches I consider that all these eighteen may be simplified into six—five high-caste and one low-caste.

They are

1. Uḍaya
2. Hâruva
3. Adhikâri — (High caste.)
4. Kaṇaka
5. Baḍaga
6. Toraya ... (Low caste.)

Uḍayas are Lingâyats in religion and carry the *Śivaliṅga*—the

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

622 584 [623] be married to a boy in another village, the parents of the young people have to represent the matter to the Monegars of their respective villages. This is done after the courtship stage has been reached and the young people have agreed to marry one another, but even then if for any reason the Monegar forbids the contracting of the marriage the matter must at once stop, and no appeal to any higher authority is possible. Such a thing rarely occurs, but when it does there is no remedy, except that it may be possible to induce the Monegar to alter his decision by means of a judiciously administered bribe.

595 Owing to the existence of polyandry and ideas connected with it, things that would be regarded by other peoples as the gravest offences against morality are tolerated or even approved of by Baḍaga public opinion. Offences against the curious rules for the 622 627 681 regulation of family life that obtain among the Baḍagas are brought to the village Monegar, who punishes the culprits by inflicting fines upon them. But however lax the Baḍagas may be in their ideas of morality within the family, they regard with the greatest displeasure and visit with the severest punishment any one who goes 622 627 684 astray with a man of another caste, even though he be of the Brahman caste. The village Monegar conducts an enquiry, and if he finds the guilt of the accused person proved, he pronounces sentence of excommunication, and the unfortunate woman loses her caste and is driven from the community.

622 627 586 [623] The village Monegar is also president of the divorce court—for, as was stated in my previous article, divorce, which is not uncommon in the Baḍaga community, can, after the cord-tying ceremony has been performed, be granted only by a regular decision of the Monegar and his village council. If a man and his wife do not like one another they have to bring the matter before the Monegar. He assembles a court, and himself acting as its president sanctions a 586 separation or deals with the matter otherwise. If separation is ordered the person who is to take the divorced woman as his wife returns the *Sīla haṇa* or cloth money (Rs. 1¼), and the price originally paid to her by her first husband. The children, if there be any, belong to the father. The woman if she dislikes her second husband may apply for a second separation. Society does not look upon her as a bad woman because of these divorces or separations, and recognises all her children as lawfully born Baḍagas.

621 622 623 735 One more illustration may be given of the functions of the Monegar and the village council. If any Baḍaga family becomes very